

# The Servant of India

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## Topics of the Week.

### Mr. Gandhi's March.

IT is a Week now since Mahatma Gandhi began his historic march to the coast to break the Government's salt monopoly and thereby win Swaraj. In view of the very careful selection he had made of his volunteers there has, luckily, been no untoward incident or any outbreak of violence in his camp or about. So far the Government, too, have wisely held their hand and refrained from precipitating matters by arresting the Mahatma, though all kinds of rumours of his impending arrest are flying about. If only by the way, we might remember that this very Government of India, had, under Lord Hardinge, publicly supported the very same Mr. Gandhi when he launched a very similar campaign against the Government of South Africa under Gen. Smuts. Having once abetted civil disobedience, the Government of India need not pretend to be outraged by another exhibition of it, and stand on prestige and embark on repression all round. It was a blunder on the part of the Government that they fired the first shot by arresting Mr. Vallabhai Patel. The arrest of Mr. J. M. Sen-Gupta, the Mayor of Calcutta, is equally regrettable. These arrests and prosecutions are not likely to achieve their purpose of inhibiting the spread of discontent against Government. On the other hand, they only add to the publicity that Mr. Gandhi's march is getting not only in India but abroad.

In the meanwhile, Congress Committees, driven to it by Youth Leaguers, are making frantic efforts to whip up agitation for all they are worth and to enlist volunteers. While the speeches lacked nothing in fire and brimstone, the enlistment of volunteers seems to be rather disappointing and incommensurate with

the object they have in view or the efforts they have made to stimulate enlistment. Among the volunteers tall poppies are conspicuous by their extreme scarcity.

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### Untouchables and Public Wells.

IN a letter to the Press Mr. A. V. Thakkar, of the Servants of India Society, draws a heart-rending picture of the difficulties that the Depressed Classes have to put up with for their water supply in rural areas. It is sad to contemplate that, after nearly ten years of intensive and extensive agitation for the removal of untouchability led by no less a person than Mahatma Gandhi, the water supply of the untouchables remains still a burning grievance. To remove it Mr. Thakkar advocates the provision of separate wells for the depressed classes. In justification thereof he says that in the Bombay Presidency there is not a single instance of a well used jointly by the higher castes and the depressed classes. He, however, records that in some villages in Maharashtra the depressed classes have asserted their right to use the public wells and, as a result, the higher castes have given them up. He does not tell us what the latter did thereafter and where they got their water supply from. It may be that they shifted to another well, if there was one, or sunk a separate well for their exclusive use. It seems to us that the right course is to encourage the untouchables to assert their undoubted right to the use of public wells and leave it to the objectors to shift for themselves. If a separate well is inevitable, which cannot be made a public charge, the higher castes are economically more able to provide themselves with one than the untouchables. It is only fair to ask those who want exclusive privileges to pay for them. Provision of separate wells will only confirm the existing untouchability complex and not help to remove it. A wide-spread campaign for the assertion of the right of the untouchables to public wells will have the support not only of enlightened public opinion but also of the State. No, not perhaps "will have," but "should have."

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### Rationing to go ?

THE report of the Bombay Excise Department for 1928-29 shows a net decrease in revenue of Rs. 10.8 lakhs, the total realizations being Rs. 338 lakhs. The most perceptible decline is seen under country spirit, while wines and spirits record a slight decrease of Rs. 2½ lakhs. The Commissioner of Excise, however, does not attribute the downward trend of the Excise revenue to increased temperance but to the increase in illicit distillation as well as importation, and to the growing taste for foreign liquor and beer. In spite of the incessant demands made by Advisory Committees, it is regrettable to find that during the whole year only eight shops for the retail vend of country spirits were closed in pursuance of their advice, whereas the reduction ought to have been by

dozens. The Government Resolution on the report harps on the increase in the manufacture and consumption of illicit liquor and suggests that high prices should be controlled as a first step towards the suppression of illicit distillation. This is as good as saying that the whole policy followed since 1922 is distrusted by the Government, and that they are anxious to go back to the old system of cheap prices and increased consumption. In fact, the Resolution makes no secret of their unabashed intention to reverse the whole rationing policy: it plainly says that the Government feel that the time has come when the whole position as it stands as the result of the experiment of rationing should be reviewed, and they have already instituted enquiries to that end. This is in flat contradiction to the policy laid down by the representatives of the people in the local legislature and the Government owe it to the latter to show in detail the items of that policy which, in their opinion, stand discredited and make out an unanswerable case for a change of policy. We doubt whether they are capable of doing this to the satisfaction of non-official members of the legislature and it is no use tilting at the rationing policy in official documents. The report says that there were no temperance movements of any kind, except in the Surat district; but we should like to know what the Government propose to do by way of propaganda work. The Madras Council has sanctioned Rs. 5 lakhs for temperance propaganda and the Bombay Council ought to follow its example. As for illicit traffic it is certainly not beyond effective control.

#### British Medical Council on the War-Path.

JUDGING by the truculent tone adopted by the British Medical Council, very few would be surprised to learn that the Executive of that body has finally withdrawn its recognition of the medical degrees of Indian Universities. We doubt whether it is advisable to adopt retaliatory measures without serious consideration, but it is clear that the decision is an affront to Indian Universities. Dr. Jivraj Mehta, in an interview to the press, has diagnosed the case rightly when he said that the retired L.M.S. officers, who carry great influence with the Council, could not stomach the idea that the plums of the profession, which were once their monopoly, were going to Indians. Dr. Mehta thinks that the Council's action was provoked by the refusal of the Legislative Assembly to sanction the appointment of a Medical Commissioner, as desired by the B. M. C. In his opinion the British Medical Association has played no small part in the expression of the resentment felt by interested parties both in India and in England on account of the progressive loss of practice in favour of Indian medical men and the rapid Indianisation of the staffs of the Medical Colleges in India. Dr. Mehta has no hesitation in saying that the "lack of opportunities for obstetric instruction" complained of by the Council is the weakest point in the whole argument; as a matter of fact these opportunities have increased five-fold during the last ten years. He, therefore, advises the members of the Assembly to take up immediately the challenge thrown out by the Council and ask for a clear declaration of policy from the Government and also press for stopping the recruitment of persons who are the holders of purely British medical qualifications. Dr. Mehta also sees no reason why French, German and Italian medical degrees should not be recognized by the Provincial Medical Councils since excellent medical instruction is imparted in these countries. We are sure the British Medical Council has acted unwisely in fostering a needless agitation in India when the energies of the people of India ought to be directed to the solution of the

difficult questions in connection with the impending constitutional revision. All the anomalies in connection with the recruitment of medical services can only be removed if the Government expedite the legislation which they have in hand for creating an Indian Medical Council and give it full authority to assess the proper values of Indian and British degrees and to decide on the proper terms of recruitment to the Indian Medical Service. The success of Mr. Jayakar's resolution for the revival of a competitive examination has already shown the Government of India which way the wind is blowing.

#### The Punjab Budget.

THE calamities in the last calendar year due to the floods caused first by the bursting of the Shyok dam and then to the unprecedented rains in the mountain ranges as well as the plains of the Punjab have told on the revenue prospects for the current year as well as the next year. The reduction of revenue receipts, suspension and remission of land revenue, combined with reduction of water-rate collections, together with repairs to irrigation works damaged by the floods, and takavi advances have resulted in changing the surplus of Rs. 31 lakhs as shown in budget estimates into a deficit of Rs. 66 lakhs in the latest revised estimates for the year 1929-30. The peculiar feature of the Punjab budget is the item of extraordinary receipts, of which the main item is the proceeds of the sales of colony land, and these have been devoted to the avoidance of debt by utilising them for capital expenditure and Provincial Loans. Even this item showed a reduction of Rs. 32 lakhs in the revised estimates as compared with the budget estimates, with the result that the Punjab Government had to ask the Government of India for a supplementary loan of Rs. 60 lakhs in order to meet the normal capital expenditure, in addition to the loan of Rs. 140 lakhs budgeted for at the beginning of the current year. It must be said to the credit of the Finance department that they effected economies in every direction on the expenditure side, curtailing 19 lakhs in Civil Works alone by postponing even sanctioned projects. For the year 1930-31 there is made a further reduction of Rs. 38 lakhs on Civil Works in order to keep the expenditure below that of the current year. The next year's budget really shows a deficit of Rs. 27 lakhs, but when it is remembered that Rs. 28 lakhs constitutes the provision for special flood repairs which is really an extraordinary item the budget may be said to be a balanced budget. The loss of land revenue to the extent of Rs. 10 lakhs during the current year and the next year is due to the application of the new Land Revenue Act to assessments made after 1922, according to which 25 per cent. of the net assets has been fixed as the maximum limit for assessment; it may be noted that the province of Punjab has taken the lead in fixing the assessment in accordance with the recommendations of the Taxation Enquiry Committee. The province of Punjab must be congratulated on the liberal sum of Rs. 171 lakhs to be devoted to education during the next year, showing an increase of nearly Rs. 5 lakhs over the current year's figure in spite of stringent finances; maintenance grants to local bodies for vernacular education have risen from Rs. 39 lakhs in 1924 to Rs. 72 lakhs in the current year and during the next year there will be an additional grant of Rs. 5½ lakhs for primary education alone. The Finance Member claims that money released by remission of provincial contributions has been well spent and is already contributing to the progress of the province; in spite of this he is constrained to admit that "years of affluence produced by the remission" are past and that it is well to look for further difficulties in the future.

## Articles.

### IMPERIAL PREFERENCE.

PRESS reports, all too brief, of the proceedings of the Legislative Assembly on the 13th inst. go to show that the question of cotton duties is more complicated than we thought. Sir George Schuster's Budget speech left the impression that it was a mere coincidence that the need of the Government for extra revenue and the need of the Bombay cotton industry for protection against Japanese competition fitted in with preference to Lancashire; that imperial preference was not intended but was just incidental. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya elicited the information that Government deliberately modified their original proposals and introduced, in response to the "representations" of the British Cabinet, an element of imperial preference. Government's original proposals were a 15 per cent *ad valorem* revenue duty together with an additional protective duty of three and a half annas per pound on all plain grey goods, both British and other. Their final proposals were a 15 per cent revenue duty together with an additional protective duty of 5 per cent on all cotton piecegoods with a minimum of 3½ annas per pound on plain grey goods, which are not of British manufacture. It is obvious that in making their original proposals Government were satisfied that the interests of revenue and of protection to Bombay were adequately met. All the same, Sir George Schuster, in his reply to the debate on the 13th, continued to profess that the Government's final proposals were solely motivated by the economic needs of India, that imperial preference was incidental to them, and that, as a matter of fact, they had fought shy of imperial preference and wished to avoid even the suspicion of it but the interests of India made such a course impossible. And yet he finally wound up by holding up for admiration and for imitation the example of Australia, Canada and New Zealand which, he said, gave substantial preferences to British goods. The day's debate must have left the Government with the feeling that they have been 'found out.' They would have done better if they had frankly urged imperial preference and some sacrifice of Indian interests for the sake of the political effect it would have on England and on the negotiations at the Round Table Conference.

Sir George Schuster denied in his Budget speech that the Government proposal involved any sacrifice of Indian interests. But all proposals of protection as well as of preference involve some sacrifice on the part of the consumers. In giving preference to British piecegoods the Indian consumers are penalised for the benefit of Lancashire. If British goods were cheaper than Japanese goods, then there is no occasion for any tariff preference for British goods. But because Japanese goods are cheaper, they are able to displace British goods. By this competition between Japan and Lancashire the Indian consumer benefits. The Government's proposals for imperial preference penalise the Indian consumers who are asked

to pay in order to protect Lancashire against Japan. It is Imperial Preference *par excellence*.

The following figures of imports of cotton piece goods taken from Sir George Rainy's Statement and quoted by the Agent of the Japanese Cotton Spinners' Association, will be instructive:—

Class of Imports	Imports not competing with Indian manufactures from		Imports competing with Indian manufactures from	
	England	Japan	England	Japan
(in million yards.)				
Bleached goods.	525	5	nil	nil
Coloured goods.	286	24	50	86
Plain Greys.	3	nil	45	207
Bordered Greys.	365	5	88	30

It will be seen from the above table that in the bleached goods imports do not compete with local manufactures and the competition is between England and Japan, though the great bulk of the imports come from England. While India stands in need of no protection, England too needs none against Japan as Japanese competition is negligible. With regards to the coloured goods, imports compete with home production, and the competition is comparatively greater from Japan than from England. India may well seek protection against both Japan and England. But England is in no need of protection against Japan. There is severe competition from Japan in plain greys, but there is some competition from England too. India needs protection not only against Japan but also against England. There is hardly any competition between Japan and England for the Indian market in plain greys. There is greater competition from England than from Japan in bordered greys, and India may well be protected against both. But the competition between Japan and England is negligible.

Under the Government proposals, Indian plain greys will be protected against Japanese competition, but not against British. And the imports from Lancashire are likely to be stimulated. While the competition from Japan will be reduced in the import of coloured goods and bordered greys, the competition from Lancashire will increase. It is true that the competition from Great Britain is to some extent counteracted by the increase of 4 per cent. in the revenue duty. The Bombay Millowners asked for 20 per cent all round, with a minimum of 3½ as. per pound on plain greys; but the Government in their original proposals thought that a 15 per cent. duty, with a minimum of 3½ as. per pound on plain greys, was quite adequate to protect the Bombay mill industry. The after-thought of 5 per cent. on non-British goods is undeniably meant to protect Lancashire against Japan, and not India against Japan, and this protection is to be at the expense of the Indian consumer, without any advantage to the Indian producer.

No convincing case has been made out why Lancashire should be protected against Japan in the Indian market. Lancashire has a very strong posi-

tion in India and it will be long before Japan will be able to shake it. But if Lancashire wants protection, England may well undertake the job. It is unfair to put the burden on Indian consumers.

Moreover, the discriminatory duty on Japan may provoke her to retaliate by reducing her purchases of Indian cotton. Japan imports Indian cotton nearly double in value to the cotton goods she sends to India. In 1927 India exported raw cotton valued nearly Rs. 22 crores to Japan, while she imported cotton manufactures worth only Rs. 12 crores from Japan. As the Tariff Board said, Japan buys her cotton not only from the American and Indian markets but she has China in reserve, besides East Africa. Japan might find it possible to retaliate and the poor Indian cultivator will suffer.

To get over discrimination against Japan, it has been proposed in some quarters to raise the protective duty to 20 per cent all round. Nothing can be more indefensible than this heartless proposal. The figures quoted above show that British imports amount to 1,362 million yards as against 357 million yards from Japan, and it will be criminal folly to raise the tariff against the former in order to protect ourselves against the latter. The Millowners of Bombay may welcome it, but we are not sure it will really help them either. No tariff wall, however high, will enable Bombay to recover her foreign markets nor diminish the internal competition. The higher cost of production in Bombay is a permanent feature. The only way to resuscitate the Bombay mill industry is to subsidise its export trade. And if the Millowners will be wise, they will pool their profits from the tariff protection and utilise them to subsidise their export trade.

It is bad enough to increase the burden of the poorest class of Indians—and they are mostly the people who buy Indian mill products—for the doubtful benefit of the Bombay mill industry; it is worse to increase its burdens further still, in order to protect Lancashire against Japan, and on the top of it, imperil the cotton producer in India, if Japan should be provoked to retaliate. The Assembly and the Government will do well to accept the amendment of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, which is no other than what Government themselves originally proposed. It just protects the Indian industry where protection can be justified and leaves the rest of the field free for competition between England and Japan, to the advantage of the Indian consumer.

### THE POLITICS OF LABOUR.

**T**HAT the Labour movement should develop a political wing may be considered unnecessary by a good many publicists but nothing is more common in the course of its history. On the purely industrial side it asks for higher wages, shorter hours of work and better conditions of labour. But from asking for a change in these directions to ask for the political power itself which can effect these changes is but a short and a very natural step. No doubt in a few countries like France, Italy and the U.S.A., this step has not been taken, but the consequences are not too

happy. Where, on the other hand, labour has aimed at and obtained political power, not only have conditions of work improved rapidly, but a great moral upliftment of workers has taken place consequent on the formation of a definite political party wedded to labour interests.

In Asia, generally speaking, this political orientation is yet to take place. In China and Japan labour is still engaged in pure trade-union work. As usual, the capitalists are doing their worst to prevent the formation of unions and to demoralise the labourers by bribes or threats. Indeed, in China, where women workers get about seven annas and men about nine annas for work of twelve hours or more, the struggle for existence is the keenest in the world. In Japan, the industrial spy has become as regular a part of economic life as the political spy has become part of the political life in our own country. In India, too, even registered labour unions of long standing have to wait on the sweet will of the employer for being recognised—employers who are not more scrupulous in their anti-trade-union activities than their comrades in other countries. It is difficult to divide the history of the labour movement into definite stages; but it may be safely said that a political section can develop in any country only when pure trade-unionism has been well and soundly established.

Latin countries, like France and Italy, have grown cynical towards political socialism and have taken to syndicalism. They believe in industrial direct action and boldly advocate sabotage and the general strike. To them the State is only an oppressive tool in the hands of capitalists and deserves nothing less than complete abolition. A simultaneous stoppage of production would render impossible the normal functioning of capitalist society; and by that means the proletarian producers could destroy the wage-system and institute industrial self-government. A wide gulf, however, yawns between principle and practice. When, in 1920, the syndicalist operatives of Italy seized nearly a thousand factories and had the opportunity to do things as they chose, they failed miserably in running either industry or government. And the result was a reaction in favour of the Fascists. To-day the Italian movement is under the heel of Mussolini.

The German Labour movement is the largest in Europe. Before 1919 the workers were being looked upon as second grade citizens, but the new constitution of that year, which made the country a democratic republic, swept away all such distinctions. The Labour Code of 1919 provides equal justice, economic freedom and a universal maximum of rights to the working classes. The workers have at present more political power than they ever possessed. Revolutionary Russia, of course, stands on a footing completely apart from all other countries. The very aim of her constitution is the dictatorship of the proletariat. Capitalists have no political power which is all centred in the various soviets of the country. Power today is in the hands of the communists who, by the system of indirect elections and otherwise, continue their hold on the government. In reality, the industrial workers have nearly

double the representation that the peasants have in spite of the former being in a minority. Communists aim at spreading their principles and practices all over the world chiefly by fomenting general strikes and trying to bring about revolutions. We may consider Russia as being the extreme left wing of political labour to-day.

The extreme right wing is probably represented by the American Labour movement. The American Federation of Labour has no politics of its own. "While the Russians have turned to Communism, the Latin nations to Syndicalism, the Germans to Marxian State Socialism, the British to political, constitutional, Fabian tactics for a new social order, the American Labour movement has refused all alliance with socialism and has held tenaciously to its practical industrial programme." Its aim is confined to securing an eight-hour day, the right of collective bargaining and protective labour legislation. Paradoxical as it may appear, the movement represents the aristocracy of the labour world. But its ultra-conservatism has not been healthy, for failure is writ large on its face. During more than 40 years of its life it has failed to organise the majority of even American workers. Indeed, a movement with greater vitality has arisen since 1905 in the Industrial Workers of the World, which is strongly syndicalist in tendency. Besides, the Federation has not brought in the 14,000,000 foreign workers or the 12,000,000 Negroes in America. Labour legislation in the country is very backward. And all this may be attributed to the fact that a practical idealism is lacking which seeks its ultimate good in a new social order. A political wing alone can supply the want.

Midway between the American movement on the extreme right and the Russian movement on the extreme left stands the British one. It is socialistic in its aims, and believes not in overthrowing but adapting the existing institutions so as to make them approximate to its ideal. It may be said that there are four aspects to it, each complementary to the others. There is the regular trade union aspect concerning itself with industrial affairs and troubles. The British Trade Union Congress stands for industrial democracy and evolutionary progress. Secondly, the cooperative movement is functioning in close association with Labour. British cooperatives today own wheat land in Canada and tea estates in Ceylon. They run their own libraries and provide their own educational facilities. These activities of theirs may be said to lie mainly on the economic side, but there are two others equally important. The Worker's Educational Association (W. E. A.) has been rightly called the educational expression of the working class movement. It is a federation of working class educational institutions which organises lectures, conferences and tutorial classes, all for the benefit of labourers. Its aim is cultural and not practical, for it believes that education is not a means of livelihood but of life. It is aided by funds granted by universities, the Board of Education and local bodies. The fourth aspect of the British Labour Movement is the political one. Keir Hardie was elected to the

House of Commons in 1892 and in the following year the Independent Labour Party was formed. In 1922 Labour polled one-third of all the votes cast in Britain and in 1924 it took up, for the first time, the government of the country and, after an interval of five years, once again in 1929. The political objects of the British Party are generally speaking four. (1) It seeks to ensure for all a National Minimum of the requisites of a healthy life. (2) It looks forward to a democratic control of industry through the direct participation of trade unions in management. (3) It aims at rationalisation of National Finance as, for instance, by decreasing the expenditure on war and increasing that on the constructive work of peace. (4) Lastly, it stands for using the surplus wealth, not to increase the swollen fortunes of the leisured few, but to raise the general standard of life. In short, the entire British Labour Movement is saturated with a sense of practical idealism in favour of a new social order to be brought about, bit by bit, by steady and ceaseless reform of existing conditions.

We, in India, began our trade union movement only about a decade ago, and the progress we have made so far is certainly encouraging. In spite of our difficulties with the capitalist class, we may safely feel that the movement has come to stay. It seems that the practical question of the hour really is whether the time has not arrived for some of the labour-workers in India to begin seriously thinking about the formation of a political section of Indian Labour. There are, roughly, three classes of labour leaders amongst us. There are those who seceded from the Trade Union Congress at Nagpur held in November last. As much devoted to labour interests as anyone, they shrink from indiscriminate strikes and senseless sabotage. There are, then, the communists whose industrial and political programme is clearly chalked out in Moscow and who are bold and persistent in trying to carry it out. Between these two sections of labour leaders there can be no compromise, for they differ on the very fundamentals. While the communists look upon every strike as the possible beginning of a general one, as the precursor of a revolution, the right wing looks upon it as the last refuge in an oppressive system of wage-slavery. But midway between these two comes another class whose motives seem to be more political than industrial. At Nagpur, for instance, it opposed co-operation with Whitley Commission because it had no faith in the British government and favoured affiliation with the League against Imperialism because it hated British Imperialism. But it is not communist in opinions. This section is not strong to-day and may for the time being be left out of account. The communists, then, have a definite programme of political and industrial action. The political malcontents are inconsiderable. The Right Wingers alone remain. Their industrial programme leaves nothing to be desired, but cannot they develop a political section? The question deserves serious consideration. The uses of and need for a political party with predominantly labour interests in view are too patent to need enumeration. The objection that there are already too many parties in the country is puerile.

for where there is definite need for a new party the existence (sometimes only nominal) of other parties is immaterial. Besides, communist activity is not a factor to be overlooked. It is, therefore suggested, that the question of the formation of a Labour Party be seriously taken up by the Indian Trades Unions Federation at its forthcoming session in Bombay during Easter. The fear need not arise that such a move will dissipate the energies of Labour workers. Rather it will help the industrial side of the Labour movement in the country. If an all-India party is not at once possible, the main principles of such a party may be formulated at Bombay, so that political action may at once be proceeded with in the various provinces on the basis of a common understanding.

S. P. SARMA.

## Reviews.

### TEACHINGS OF LENIN.

**LENIN, VOL. XX, THE REVOLUTION OF 1917**  
Books I & II. By V. I. LENIN. (International Publishers, New York.) 1929. 22cm. 381,428p.  
\$6.00.

BEFORE me lie two fat volumes. On the dust-cover, splashed across a light orange background in large purple letters, the name most hateful or inspiring to almost every literate man from China to Peru—Lenin. Beneath it, his bust with the face of power, almost as unarresting as that of our own Mahatma Gandhi, to which, as one reads some specially powerful passage in the book, one turns again and again, in an attempt to unravel the almost sphinx-like inscrutability of the half-European, half-Asiatic physiognomy. There rise to the mind, as one pores over this face, the almost mystic words of the least mystic of English poets: "O common face of Man!"

In these two books are gathered up the energy of that cascade of seething, boiling waters which were poured forth on the Russian world by this restless man in those fateful days of 1917 whose message, for good or for evil, is more portentous and strong-winged than, perhaps, any other that the world has known. Addresses, draft-programs, articles, words which are to be read in the context of the mightiest drama of history, are spread out before us here, to reconstruct from them, if we can, the life of which history can present us only a dead section. Excellent explanatory and biographical notes, as well as documents, appended to the books, help the reader and sustain him through difficult places. These books, the publisher tells us, are a part of a thirty-volume scheme presenting to the public the writings and speeches of Lenin from 1893 to 1923. We find here his speeches and writings from March to July 1917.

March 1917 saw the overthrow of the Tsar and the setting up of the Provisional Government which represented, according to Lenin, the "Liberal Bourgeoisie and landowners" and "perhaps a section of workers who have forgotten their internationalism." For was it not pledged to the continuation of the war that was waged by the Imperialists of Europe for annexations? The Imperialist Government of Russia was in it, Lenin points out, to seize Armenia, Gallicia, Turkey (specially Constantinople) to reconquer Poland, Courland, Lithuania, etc.

Italy's objective was the annexation of Albania, the English and French capitalists had stipulated for the possession of Syria and Mesopotamia respectively and Germany's Imperialistic aims, everybody knew. Who, asks Lenin, does not know that these are the contents of the secret treaties which the Provisional Government refused to publish?

Did the Russian people overthrow the Tsar, he asks, to give their blood for the continuance of his policies and of those with whom he was leagued? The Provisional Government, he asserts, are the agents of Anglo-French capitalists, who, seeing the predominance of German influence (through the Tsarina, a German woman,) at the Russian Court, and fearing a separate peace between Germany and Russia, encouraged Milinkov and Co. to seize power. "The whole course of events in the March revolution," he asserts, "shows clearly that the English and the French embassies with their agents and 'associates', who had long made the most desperate efforts to prevent a 'separate' agreement and a separate peace between Nicholas II (let us hope and strive that he be the last) and Wilhelm II, strove directly to dethrone Nicholas Romanov." This was the finishing touch to the work of the first revolution—that of 1905, "which ploughed the ground deeply and uprooted the prejudices of centuries"—and of the counter-revolutionary period (1907-1914) which "fully revealed the nature of the Tsarist monarchy, . . . exposed all the infamy and vileness, all the cynicism and corruption of the Tsarist clique dominated by that monster Rasputin, . . . exposed all the bestiality of the Romanov family—that band of assassins which bathed Russia in the blood of the Jews, the workers, the revolutionaries" . . . On the top of this came the all-powerful "regisseur", the mighty accelerator of events, the World War; came military defeats; came the alliance of Anglo-French-finance-capital with the Octobrist and Constitutional-Democratic capital of Russia. This, in brief, is Lenin's analysis of the March Revolution and of the party it placed in power.

He goes on to predict that the March Revolution is only the first stage of the Revolution—this in a letter from Zurich, dated March the 24th, while still in exile,—and that the new government must, after a brief struggle, give place to a truly proletarian one. "That Revolutionary enthusiasm on the part of the most advanced class can accomplish much when objective conditions demand extreme measures from the entire people," is his firm ground of hope. "It is important to understand," he points out, "that in revolutionary times the objective situation changes as rapidly and as suddenly as life itself."

The transition period from the first to the second revolution of 1917 is unique, because of "the fact that side by side with the Provisional Government . . . there has developed another, as yet weak, embryonic, but undoubtedly real and growing government—the Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies." The second revolution is bound to come because the Provisional Government by its very nature cannot give peace, bread, perfect freedom. "The basic question in any revolution is State-power" and the nature of the power in a Revolutionary Dictatorship of Proletariat and Peasantry will have to be, Lenin maintains, of the type of the Paris Commune of 1871. He sums up its characteristics: (1) Its origin lies not in a law of Parliament but in direct initiative of the masses from below, (2) Abolition of a separate police and army; "instead of the police and the army, institutions separated from and opposed to the people, the direct arming of the whole people." (3) "Officials, bureaucrats, are either displaced by the direct rule of the people, or at any rate, placed under special control: they not only become officers elected

by the people but they also become subject to recall at the initiative of the people; they are reduced to the position of plain representatives; from a privileged stratum, occupying snug, highly remunerative 'berths' they change into workers skilled in handling certain 'tools,' receiving salaries not exceeding those of average skilled workers."

The Provisional Government, he argues, is held in power "by a direct and indirect, by a formal and factual agreement with the Soviet of Workers' Deputies... To become a power, the class-conscious workers *must win the majority over to their side*. So long as no violence is committed against the masses, there is no other road to power. We are not Blanquists, *we are not for the seizure of power by a minority.*"

It is interesting, in passing, (and instructive to our Indian Communist friends who repeat, parrot-like, the slogans of a Revolution that took place fifteen years ago in a different land than their own) to note Lenin's assertion "that a Marxist must take cognisance of living life, of the true facts of reality, that he must not continue clinging to the theory of yesterday, which at best outlines the main and the general, approximately embracing the complexity of life," and quotes: "Theory, my friend, is grey, but green is the eternal tree of life." And in the Report on the Political Situation, April 27th, 1917, he trenchantly declares: *The chief mistake that revolutionists make, is that they look back to the revolutions of the past*. Life presents a great deal which is new and which must be included in the general sequence of events... Life has interlocked the dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry with the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie." He then goes on to the passage which deserves to be quoted, for the light that it throws on the man and his aims:

"The next stage is the dictatorship of the proletariat, is not yet sufficiently organised and enlightened: it must be enlightened. Soviets should be organised all over the country... The people regard it as a government power. In the triumph of the soviets of Workers' Deputies, they see a way out of the war. This is the type of government under which it is possible to advance to Socialism. *Should a group power seize it would not mean much. The Russian Revolution has risen higher: any government other than the Soviet is impossible* and this is what the bourgeoisie fears. *As long as the Soviets have not assumed power, we shall not seize it*. A living force, however, must impel the Soviet to seize power. Otherwise we shall not get out of the war which the capitalists are carrying on by deceiving the people."

Elsewhere he lays down, as against the gibes of a hostile paper:

"Whoever advice to 'take power,' should, upon reflection, realise that without the support of the majority of people, the attempt to take power would be a questionable venture, a Blanquish act (the *Pravda* has taken special pains to warn against this—it did it conscientiously, clearly, precisely, unequivocally)... We shall come out in favour of the transfer of power into the hands of proletarians and semi-proletarians only when the Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies adopt our policy and are willing to take that power into their own hands."

How are the desired conditions to be realised? "Through friendly persuasion," answers this terror of the capitalists and their hangers on, this friend of the people "without running ahead of events, without hastening to consolidate organisationally what has not yet been perceived, reflected upon, comprehended or experienced by the representatives of the village proletarians and semi-proletarians themselves."

We may now fill in the picture of the People's State, already outlined as abolishing a separate

police and army and curbing, if not abolishing, the bureaucracy, by describing very briefly its agrarian, economic, and financial features. All lands will be nationalised, the land is leased free to everybody who wants it, on equal footing. To protect the poorer peasants to whom the leasing of land is of little use for lack of cattle, implements and capital, a separate organisation of Soviets of Deputies of poor peasants is formed. Large model State farms are to be created out of the large estates confiscated. On the economic side, "not the introduction" of Socialism as an immediate task, but the immediate placing of the Soviet of Workers' Deputies in control of social production and distribution of goods." The same body is to exercise control over one general national bank which represents the merger of all banks—an immediate step, for "banks are the nerve, the focus of national economy," and bankers rule the world. Imperialism itself is nothing else but

"a distinct stage in the development of world-capital. Capitalism... has reached a point where a small group of overwhelmingly rich countries—England, France and America—has accumulated such colossal power concentrated in the hands of a few big bankers and a few capitalists—their being half a dozen of them at most in each country—that it has the world in its grip... There is not a bit of territory where they have not got concessions or where they have not penetrated with their finance, capital. This is the basis of annexation. Annexations are not mere inventions, and they have come about not because freedom-loving people suddenly turned into reactionaries. Annexations are nothing else but the political expression and the political form of that domination by great banks; that is the inevitable consequence of capitalism. It is no one's fault. Shares—these are the basis of banks: accumulation of shares—this is the basis of imperialism, this is your imperialism that has split the whole world into three groups of overwhelmingly rich brigands."

Lenin mercilessly attacks all those European socialists—and they formed the overwhelming majority—who took sides with the capitalists of their own country in a war which was fought for capitalist gain on either side at the cost of the people's blood. He tells the Russian socialists that if they are really against annexations, as they say they are, they must not oppose Finland's freedom of separation from Russia. The Provisional Government was for an 'agreement' between the Finnish Diet and the Constituent Assembly (of Russia). But, says Lenin, "only equals can agree. For an agreement to be real and not merely a verbal cover of subjection, it is essential that both parties be given the same rights and privileges, *that is to say, both Russia and Finland should have the right not to agree*. This is as clear as day... Without the recognition of the right of free separation, all phrases about 'agreement' are deceptions." Again and again rings this passionate insistence for socialism and internationalism in deeds, not in words. Clear-headed and clean-hearted, his denunciation of socialists, who demand the cessation of others' imperialism while covering their own with sugary sentiments and lavish promises which they never fulfil, made these victims of his scorn writhe beneath his scourge of truth. Space and an editor, whose patience I have stretched farther than an angel's limit of patience, forbid me to quote any such denunciatory passage, but perhaps I may trade on his chivalry to end with a quotation about women.

"Unless women are drawn into taking an independent part not only in political life generally, but also in daily social service obligatory to every one, it is idle to speak not only of Socialism but even of complete and stable democracy. Certain 'police' functions, such as the care of the sick, of homeless children; pure food supervision

*etc. will never be satisfactorily discharged until women are on a footing of perfect equality with men, not only on paper but in reality."*

Throughout this review the italics are mine.

J. J. VAKIL.

### A FREE COMMUNITY.

**FINLAND—THE REPUBLIC FARTHEST NORTH.** By EUGENE VAN CLEEF. (The Ohio State University Press.) 1929. 22cm. 220p. \$2.50.

FINLAND is a country in which we Indians as a nation are not much interested, for we know so little about it. Being for more than seven centuries and a half a mere dependency—first of Sweden and then of Russia—it has not attracted much notice. The Finn has ever been of a retiring, even a shy, disposition; and the climatic and geographical conditions of his country being very exacting, he has found little time to develop any great literature or art. He was not, like the Pole, the possessor of creative and artistic imagination or talent. He was ignorant of the beauty of his own language until very recently. The depressing influence of foreign domination combined with the hardships of an eternal struggle against unyielding nature had made the very fountain-heads of national life sluggish and incapable of stimulating any luxuriant growth of ideas or art which could carry the name of Finland to the remote corners of the world.

And yet the Finn never lost his patriotism, or the consciousness of national unity. Peoples which have to struggle against nature very often think lightly of struggling against foreign domination, and the Finn secured and maintained, with varying success, a partial autonomy. His very poverty and shyness protected him from cultural denationalization, and the 'Russianizing' policy of the later Tsars had very little influence upon the national character. So, when the moment came, he did not hesitate in breaking away from Russia and establishing a Republic.

If for nothing else, for the very fact that she is a new country which has only recently won her freedom, Finland should interest us. How was she able to defy a power like Russia? And how, after winning her freedom, is she maintaining it? These are questions which would interest any Indian. The first question is briefly answered. Nicholas II deprived the Finns of certain rights, the chief deprivation being the abolition of the national army. This led to a great agitation resulting in the assassination of Bohrikoff, the unpopular Governor, on June 16, 1904, which was followed by a successful national strike in 1905 and an attitude of passive resistance against Russian oppression. The policy was successful and brought about a complete reorganization of the Diet in 1906, the establishment of universal suffrage, and a single chamber representative Diet. The Finn utilized the constitution, but he was not fully satisfied. The Russian Revolution of 1917 gave him the opportunity and Finnish Independence was declared. However a mere declaration is nothing. There were some communists in Finland who wanted to deliver the country to the Soviet. The nationalists—the Whites as opposed to the communist Reds—suffered defeats, and had all but lost when they appealed to Sweden for help, which was refused. They next appealed to Germany with success. The Germans put an end to the Civil war in April 1918. Frederick Karl, Prince of Hessen in Germany was elected king, but he refused, for the future of his own country was uncertain. In July 1919 the present Republic was established.

Professor van Cleef's book shows that the Republic has been an unqualified success. The whole life of the country has been stimulated, and in spite

of many natural disadvantages, the nation is progressing very swiftly. An index to this prosperity is the growth of new industries and foreign trade, and the regeneration of old factories. In almost every walk of economic life the change has been palpable and great. New markets are opening up, and new fields are being exploited every day. Finland's greatest wealth lies in her thickly wooded forests which supply enormous quantities of useful timber, tar, paper and other subsidiary products. The Finn has also taken to dairy farming, which is also proving very successful through the enlightened and sympathetic policy of the Government. Now we also possess huge tracts where these two industries can be successfully introduced, and it would certainly be useful to study the methods adopted by the Finns.

But to my mind the most interesting feature of economic life in Finland is the rapid growth of co-operation. There are to-day more than five Central Co-operative Societies in this small country which have organized the whole economic life of the citizens to their immense advantage. Retail general merchandise stores, dairies, restaurants, cafe's, bakeries, groceries, rural banks, societies for buying agricultural machinery, peat-moss societies, wholesale houses, and export firms are some of the more outstanding types of concerns run by these societies, which also do plenty of educational work amongst the rank and file of the nation. The fact that even the remotest farms are not neglected, and the agriculturists as well as the townsmen are equally benefitted by these organizations shows what tremendous work they are doing.

Another topic of some interest to our politicians is the Swedish problem in Finland. There is a considerable number of Swedes who are the citizens of Finland, but who speak their own language, and are a distinct community. Though they have lived in the country for centuries, yet their culture is different from the Finnish culture, and their education, wealth, and proximity to Sweden give them an importance far beyond their numerical strength. They are 11% of the total population, yet, they possess the best lands, and have not forgotten the days when they were virtual rulers. They seem to be quite satisfied with the national government, though they can hardly be said to love the Finns. The following extracts from the constitution throw some light on the policy of the Republic:—

"Finnish and Swedish shall be the national languages of the Republic."

"The right of Finnish citizens to use their mother tongue, whether Finnish or Swedish, before the courts and the administrative authorities and to obtain from them documents in such languages shall be guaranteed by law"....

"When rearranging the borders of the administrative districts, care should be taken to make, as far as possible, single language districts, either Finnish or Swedish, or that the minorities speaking the other languages will be as small as possible."

The author has succeeded in giving much valuable information on these and other topics in the small compass of a book of a little more than 200 pages. All the data have been carefully collected on the spot and with the help of Finns themselves, and has been presented very succinctly. This has unfortunately necessitated the use of language on occasions rather too technical; but the book can be read and enjoyed by a layman, who will find particularly interesting the description of the cities and flowers and the typical landscapes of this beautiful country of a thousand lakes—of which, to be exact, there are

in all more than 40,000. He will also enjoy the chapter on Literature, Music, and Art, which not only gives a description of the great national epic 'Kalevala', but also contains some very beautiful and simple extracts from that book. The professor has, in short, produced a book which is both brief and full of interesting information. The former is not a minor consideration to-day, when one finds it so difficult to keep oneself abreast of current developments in the world.

I. H. QURESHI.

### UNCRITICAL HISTORY.

**HISTORY OF PRE-MUSALMAN INDIA. VOL. 1. PRE-HISTORIC INDIA.** By V. RANGACHARYA. (Huxley Press, Madras.) 1929. 25cm. 247p. Rs. 5/—

'Pre-Musalman India', though rather freely used now, is not a particularly happy phrase when it is used with a chronological implication. Muhammadan rule was established in different parts of India at different times, and considerable tracts of the country were never under continuous Muslim rule. Nor can the sub-title of this book, 'Pre-Historic India' be accepted, strictly speaking, as a correct description of its contents, as on the one hand the author deals with the geological evolution of the country and the evolution of life in it (in the early chapters) and on the other (in the closing chapters) he carries his account into the proto-historic period.

The author is manifestly not a geologist nor an ethnologist, nor, indeed, does he appear to possess more than an amateurish knowledge of the many topics handled by him in the course of his work. He strikes one, in fact, as but a diligent compiler of what others have said about the subjects he treats of; and he is very generous in the choice of his authorities. All is fish that comes to his net, for we find "a writer in the *Manchester Guardian*" "reproduced in the *Indian Daily Mail* of the 12th Nov. 1927", the *Hindu Message* of Trichinopoly etc., together with Mr. H. G. Wells' *Outline of History* figuring among his sources as of equal importance with Cunningham, Sayce and Bruce Foote! He is equally impartial in summarising almost every theory he has come across on any subject on hand. On the first home of man, on the origin of the Tamils and on the nature and the age of the Aryan advent into India, for instance, the author recounts with unperturbed gravity even the most absurd lucubrations of writers long since and deservedly forgotten.

Once indeed the author ventures to hit off his own bat, and that is when he asserts, against the almost universal opinion among the anthropologists, that gold was the earliest metal to be discovered and used by man, earlier than iron or copper (113, 165). This is indeed originality with a vengeance! Not only was gold the earliest metal to be used by man, but the author has discovered two convincing reasons (p 167) to show that Pre-historic South India furnished the scene of this fateful discovery! They are that *pon* originally meant any metal and now means gold and probably "the Sanskrit word *Suvarna* was derived from the Dravidian *pon* and *tamra* from *sembon*", as can perhaps be shown by a philology yet to be born. The discovery and use of iron "belongs to the early times of 'historic' India as compared with 'pre-historic' India" and this together with other matters, the author assures us, forms the fascinating subject of the next volume!

HISTORICUS.

### EASTERN THRILLS.

**WITH PEN AND BRUSH IN EASTERN LANDS. WHEN I WAS YOUNG.** By VALENTINE CHIROL. (Cape.) 1929. 26cm. 202p.

SIR VALENTINE CHIROL is reputed a mighty traveller with a sharp pair of eyes, a trenchant pen and, as this book conclusively proves, a wonderful brush. His frank and forcible story of wanderings among strange peoples and cultures of the East more than thirty years ago, when the rumblings of democratic and industrial upheavals were but faintly sensed, is of great interest. Again, Sir Valentine seems to have had more than the ordinary share of adventures in the East,—he was attacked by a host of wild bees in the Deccan; he was tossed about in a Persian Gulf squall, a thunderstorm in the Malabar backwaters and a Pacific typhoon; he was deserted by his guides in a Syrian desert and in a Cantonese market during a riot; he was awakened by subconscious sensations of an actual earthquake in Japan and a real cobra at Vijayanagar. His account of these and other 'thrills' makes the book very interesting. There are fine pen pictures of the Great Wall of China, of Nunga Parbat, of the grave of Hafiz and other places and objects of artistic or cultural significance, while his excursions into politics, folklore, religion or race history are always illuminating. Eastern readers might wince at the too frequent reference to the 'barbarous cruelty' and 'extravagant luxury' of the Orient and the rather sneering remarks on the 'unending phantasmagoria of the Hindu pantheon' and 'the fantastic legends of the East'. While narrating his voyage along the West Coast of India, Sir Valentine becomes aware of this over-emphasis from which he could not probably escape. He writes, "Lest one be tempted to forget the parable of the beam and the mote and to dwell with excessive self-righteousness on the seamy side of Hinduism," and proceeds to restore the balance by giving a spicy page or two on the seamy side of Christianity at Goa! On the whole, the book is a colourful and galloping account of Asia between 1875-1900 by a clever observer and a powerful writer.

N. KASTURI.

### Miscellaneous.

#### BLOATED EXPENDITURE.

#### PANDIT KUNZRU'S CRITICISM.

*In the budget debate on the 4th March Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru made the following speech in the Assembly.*

Sir, in presenting his first Budget last year, the Honourable the Finance Member told us in effect that he had a difficult legacy to administer. His review of our financial position, though not alarming, filled us with anxiety. He refrained, however, from imposing new taxation, and gave three reasons for the course that he adopted, one of them being that, before imposing new taxation, he wanted to have fuller opportunity of reviewing the expenditure side of the Budget than had been possible in the limited time since he took over office. The Budget which he has now placed before us shows how considerably our position has deteriorated during the last twelve months. He has pointed out to us all the factors that have led to this deterioration. We have to find not merely a sum of about four crores in order to balance expenditure, but have also to bear in mind that certain sources of revenue will soon be extinguished. On the other hand, however, I think we may legitimately hope that certain causes, which have brought about a fall in our revenue, will disappear before long. The deterioration in the Railways and the Posts and Telegraphs accounts, in the coming year, for a deficit of about 99 lakhs. I hope that the Railway Depart-

ment will soon be able to show better results and that we have not reached the limit of expansion so far as our railways are concerned. As regards Posts and Telegraphs too, I entertain a similar hope. I see from the figures that it is not so much that the Post Office expenditure has increased, as that the Post Office revenue has not risen to the extent that was hoped. To an appreciable extent, the recovery in our Postal revenue is dependent on the removal of the present trade depression. When that will take place exactly, nobody knows, but we may legitimately hope that, with the return of a more prosperous year, even the Post Office revenue will show better results than the Honourable the Finance Member expects it to do during the coming year.

These are, Sir, the factors that we might well bear in mind in order to relieve the gloom of the picture presented to us by the Honourable the Finance Member. In the main, however, we must depend for an improvement in our financial position on the economies that we are able to make. Now the Honourable the Finance Member tells us that he has already made economies to the extent of 62 lakhs in civil estimates and 80 lakhs in military expenditure. But the item of 62 lakhs relating to the reduction in civil estimates is really made up, as he himself says, of certain previous non-recurring items and of other variations. To the extent, then, that economy has been enforced, or that, more accurately speaking, expenditure has been prevented from rising by finding money for new items by eliminating old items, we are really making no permanent economy. Apart from that, Sir, we know that the sale of silver has resulted in a book loss of 6.38 crores in the Paper Currency Reserve, and the interest on this would amount to about 35 lakhs. This is shown on the expenditure side, and is also credited to revenue. I have been given to understand that this sum is included in the figure of 62 lakhs mentioned by the Honourable the Finance Member. If it is so, then the reduction in our civil estimates is purely nominal. On the other hand, it is fair to point out that the deficit also will be less than the Honourable Member has shown it to be by about 35 lakhs, I do not know, Sir, what the limits of retrenchment on the civil side are, but I will take the word of the Honourable the Finance Member for it, and accept his statement that no considerable economies are possible in that direction. We have, therefore, to turn to the military estimates to see whether any large and permanent reduction in expenditure can be made.

I will place before the House three or four concrete instances to show to what extent economies are still possible in the Military Budget. I am not now dealing with the general question of the military expenditure, which is much too high in proportion to our resources. Whether you accept the Brussels Conference percentage of 20, or you take any reasonably higher figure, 30, 35 or 40, our expenditure will appear to bear too high a proportion to our revenue, and to be far beyond our capacity to pay. I wish, however, to deal with specific instances of the manner in which the expenditure on the Army can be reduced. My first instance relates to a subject with which my Honourable friend the Army Secretary is familiar, as I have referred to it more than once in this House previously. The Retrenchment Committee, after recommending reductions in the British and Indian forces, suggested a reorganisation of the infantry reserve and pointed out that very considerable advantage would result if its recommendations were accepted.

"The proposal to increase the period of enlistment with the colours," it said "would also ultimately reduce the number of recruits required annually. This in turn would reduce the establishment of the training battalions and the strength of the recruiting staff and result in considerable further economy."

Now, the recommendation of the Inchoape Committee was that the peace strength of the infantry battalions should be 20 per cent. below their war strength. The war strength of an infantry battalion, they suggested, was to be 766, 20 per cent. reduction of which would mean a reduction of about 153 or 154 men per battalion. My Honourable friend Mr. Young told me in 1928 that at the time Government announced their acceptance of the recommendation of the Retrenchment Com-

mittee to reorganise the infantry reserve, they reduced the strength of the infantry battalions by 64 men per battalion. I do not know whether anything has been done during the last two years to decrease the strength of the battalions further. If such a thing had been done, the fact would certainly have been made known to us. In any case, the Military Budget would not have been silent on that point. I take it therefore that we are still where we were in 1928. This means that, according to the recommendations of the Retrenchment Committee, a reduction of 90 men per infantry battalion has yet to be effected. Now, as we have 80 active battalions, the acceptance or rather the carrying out of the Inchoape Committee's recommendation would mean a decrease of about 7,200 men. There would, as the Inchoape Committee pointed out, be in consequence also a reduction in the establishment of the training battalions, the purpose of which is to train new recruits for the active battalions, and also to provide for wastage during a war in its initial stages.

But this is not all the economy that in my opinion ought to result from the recommendation of the Inchoape Committee to reorganise the infantry reserve. We have frequently complained that the proportion of one British to 2.5 Indian soldiers is unnecessarily high, and that it betrays a distrust of Indians on the part of His Majesty's Government. But even so long as the present ratio is maintained, if the strength of the Indian battalions is reduced in accordance with the recommendation of the Inchoape Committee, it ought also to result in a corresponding reduction of about 2,800 men in the British forces, and as a British soldier costs about four or five times as much as an Indian soldier, this source of economy cannot by any means be neglected. In fact it ought to yield a large sum. Now, when my Honourable friend the Army Secretary spoke last on this subject in 1928, he told us that the reason why Government could not proceed to the extent recommended by the Inchoape Committee was that the reserve was not full. There were still deficiencies in the authorised strength. I understand, however, that the reserve is now completely full. That is the information I have received from the Military Financial Adviser. If that is so, we should like to know what steps Government propose to take in order to carry out the recommendation of the Inchoape Committee which they accepted in principle in 1923 or 1924.

The other point which I should like to draw the attention of the House to is the capitation rate, which involves us in a charge of about two crores annually. Honourable members are aware that this subject has been discussed more than once. The Government of India have, at least for half a century, been protesting against the heavy charges debited to India in connection with the training of British officers and soldiers in England. The matter has been repeatedly considered during the last 60 years. In 1923 it formed the subject of consideration by the Inchoape Committee which recommended that "a fresh regular settlement should be expedited", and suggested that:

"The most equitable arrangement will be to base the payment on the number of troops sent out and the cost of training them, to fix a separate rate for the technical services, and to allocate the cost to the War Office of training recruits between the India Office and the War Office *pro rata* to the normal colour service in each country, subject to a due allowance for the potential value to the British Government of returned men available for the reserve."

Whenever this question is raised in this House, we are told that the matter is still under discussion. How long is it going to be under discussion? I can understand my Honourable friend the Finance Member saying that these are all questions of policy which cannot be decided at once, and that we must await the decision of His Majesty's Government. But surely if these questions of policy involve heavy charges to India, if because of our financial position heavy taxation has become necessary, it is up to the Government of India to take advantage of our present position and to press on His Majesty's Government the absolute necessity of coming to a speedy decision on these points. This is the time when they can use our needs as a lever to bring pressure on His

Majesty's Government to do tardy justice to us in these important matters.

Just one more concrete instance of the feasibility of reducing military expenditure and I will pass on from this subject. It was pointed out to the Welby Commission that the British Government ought to make some subvention to the Indian revenues in aid of military expenditure, and that Commission, amongst other things, recommended that:

"As a measure justifiable in the circumstances half the cost of transport of troops to and from India should be defrayed by the Imperial Government".

At that time I understand the cost of transport was about £260,000, and His Majesty's Government therefore agreed to pay annually £130,000 to the Indian revenues. This expenditure has, however, risen considerably since then, but the Imperial Government still gives us only about £130,000, which translated into Indian money comes to about 18 lakhs of rupees. The cost of transport of troops is now about 76 lakhs. The share of His Majesty's Government, on the basis recommended by the Welby Commission, ought to be about 38 lakhs. I want to know whether His Majesty's Government have been asked to increase their contribution by 20 lakhs. It is a small sum. It will not of course enable us to dispense with the need for fresh taxation; but there is no reason why His Majesty's Government should not fulfil their obligation in this matter.

There are other instances I could give of reduction in military expenditure, but we shall have an occasion of thrashing the matter out when the Military Budget is under consideration. I wish, therefore to pass on to another subject which was dealt with by my Honourable friend the Finance Member in his budget speech. I refer to the provision made for the reduction or avoidance of debt. My Honourable friend's announcement came to me, frankly, as a disappointment. He told us that this subject had better await the examination of the convention relating to the separation of Railway finance. I am in sympathy with a large part of what fell from him in connection with the contribution made by the Railways to the general revenues. It may be that, at the next revision, the Railways will be called upon to make a larger contribution; but the principle which I have referred to can be discussed independently, I believe, of the examination of the convention. The question that we have to decide is whether a productive debt should be amortised. If that principle is accepted, then no matter how the Railway convention is revised, the grievance of the House in this matter will remain. It is true that the general revenues may benefit if the Railways are called upon to make a larger contribution; but so far as the Government of India as a whole are concerned, so long as the present policy of amortising the productive debt is maintained, they will not benefit by a mere re-arrangement of this kind. The importance of this matter may be realised from the fact that the increased charge on account of the reduction or avoidance of debt will be about 60 lakhs in the coming year.

I will, before sitting down, just refer to one other important point in the Budget, that is the levy of an important duty on cotton goods. As my time is up, Sir, I cannot discuss the question at great length. But I should like briefly to point out that while we are not insensible to the appeal made to us by His Majesty's Government and do not desire to take any course that would unnecessarily hurt English interests, what we are asked today practically is to tax foreign imports for the benefit of Lancashire. All the imports that we receive from foreign countries do not compete with us. To the extent that this is true, the levying of a duty on them means an advantage to Lancashire goods in competition with other goods. This, Sir, is a very large principle. This goes far beyond any question of hurting British interests. A similar question came before the House in connection with the Steel Protection Bill. The Tariff Board considered this matter in 1924. But after discussing the various means of having recourse to protection which would affect only the cheaper kinds of continental steel and not the dearer kinds of English steel, it saw that the only way of differentiating between the two kinds of steel would be to have recourse to Imperial Preference. It was not prepared to recommend such a step, as the policy underlying it had not

been accepted by the Government of India. The position, Sir, seems to me to be the same as it was then, and I do not think that the House can be called upon at this stage to accept the principle which was not recommended by the Tariff Board in 1924. I know that the Honourable the Finance Member has assured us that the present arrangements will remain in force only for three years, and that, even in the meanwhile, the Government's proposals would not be regarded as an acceptance of Imperial Preference. But, Sir, it is an assurance given practically only on behalf of the present Government in England. We know that when Lord Birkenhead was in office, it was believed that, notwithstanding the recommendation made by the Joint Parliamentary Committee, it was for His Majesty's Government to decide what protective tariff should be imposed in this country. The position of the Labour Government is none too secure. They have won on critical occasions only by a few votes, and if a new Government comes into power before these three years are over we do not know what advantage might be taken of the acceptance of the proposal that has been placed before us by the Honourable the Finance Member, Sir, I do not wish to take up the time of the House any further; but it seems to me that the proposal which the Honourable the Finance Member asks us to accept does involve the principle of Imperial Preference, and that as such, it requires much more serious consideration than has yet been given to it. We have to remember that, in the past, the Government of India themselves have been against a policy of Imperial Preference. The repercussions of that policy must be examined. It must be remembered that the Dominions themselves have not accepted it, and that the return of General Hertzog to power in South Africa definitely means that there will be no discrimination in that country against foreign goods as against goods coming from England. In these circumstances, Sir, we may be pardoned if we are not prepared to adopt a different policy, and we trust that our view point will not be misunderstood, and that we shall not be unjustly accused of deliberately trying to hurt British interests without gaining any corresponding advantage for ourselves thereby.

## Correspondence.

### WANTED AN INDIAN CARNEGIE IN KENYA.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SERVANT OF INDIA.

SIR,—I was glad of an opportunity to read Mr. Rao's reply in your paper to my December letter in the *Spectator* in London.

I should, however, like to deplore the fact that the editor of the *Spectator* saw fit to delete the one paragraph in my letter which referred to the fine work of a great many Indians, Goanese and Sikhs, working as clerks, artisans, etc. in Kenya Colony.

I certainly did not sneer at the 'coolie' type who helped to build our wonderful Kenya Railway under great hardships. That was the last thing I wished to do, and had the whole of my letter been published Mr. Rao would have realised this.

The fact remains however that out of 26,000 Indians in Kenya approximately only 6,000 are fitted to hold the vote, whereas out of 12,000 Europeans, approximately 11,900 are fitted to hold the vote. The rest, a negligible section, are failures, and are shipped home if they cannot find work, so that the 'Poor White Question' does not arise in Kenya Colony at all. All these negligible failures, however, had to possess a spending power of £37.10 on their arrival into the Colony in comparison to the Indian settlers' guarantee of only £7.10.

It is therefore fallacious that 11,900 hard-working Europeans should be expected to bear the burden of say 18,000 or 20,000 Indian citizens, whose one aim is to make money. I do not blame them for wanting

to get out of their appalling living conditions, but in many cases a motor car comes first.

I should also like to point out that Kenya (up country), prior to the arrival of the European colonist, was a scrub and lion-infested wilderness, sparsely populated by half-starved tribes who incessantly warred amongst themselves, and were too frightened to venture out at night for fear of wild animals. Nowadays, the native has his wonderful reserve lands, which he can cultivate in peace; he also very often has squatter land, and a decent living wage; and in addition he is learning not-only discipline, but also to read and write, farming, housework, gardening, and various trades.

It is ludicrous to compare England's Government today with a "coolie" Government, for there is hardly a soul in England who cannot read or write. They are, as a whole, a cleanly, progressive people, for the simple reason that for years past the upper classes have been paying heavy taxes to educate them.

Not so in India. Prior to the advent of the English there, the Indian Princes reigned supreme, suppressing and extorting money from the poor. In addition, there were ever-lasting religious feuds which disintegrated the country, forming a barrier to progress.

The same thing applies to a great extent today in East Africa, where the wealthier types should try and enlighten their poorer brothers and sisters, as is the case in England. Mr. Jeevanjee did a very fine work, when he dedicated the Jeevanjee Garden to the Indian population of Nairobi. Not only is it a pretty sight in itself for all to behold, but it is a joy to think that small Indian children can go and play there in safety, away from the noise, bustle and heat of the streets and the bazaars. Personally, I should like to see some wealthy Indian dedicate a beautiful Indian park in or just outside Nairobi, filled with flowers and shrubs similar to our London parks, with shady cool walks and sheltered benches for Nairobi's Indian population, with a Sports section attached to it for the hard-working Indian clerks and business people. Open spaces make for open, clean minds. There must be large tracts of land in or near Nairobi which belong to wealthy Indians and which could be used for such purposes, which will at the same time assist beautifying the Colony generally.

It is fallacious to say that the Kenya Government is not trying to help, but one cannot get away from the fact that Kenya Colony today has to spend a lot of money for Sanitary Inspectors to constantly supervise the bazaar and Indian quarters of Mombasa, Nairobi, Nakuru, Kisumu, and Eldoret, etc. When these conditions and regulations are no longer necessary, it is to be hoped that a model farming colony for Indians will be allowed to exist, but alas! the vast majority of Indians in Kenya are not progressive, with the result that the fine, hard-working, cleaning Indian community has to suffer.

By the way, Mr. Rao is wrong. It is the Government official only who nearly always goes home to retire, not the white settler generally, who bears the chief burden of taxation, and as a result seldom can afford to go home on leave even.

Before closing, I should like to add that I spent Christmas Eve in London this year, and amongst my friends were two Indian girl B.A.'s, one charming little Parsee and the other a Gujerati, and it is this type of girl we have to look to for the salvation of

the India of the future. I hope they will some day soon be able to break down the terrible race prejudices that exist today by bringing healthful, hygienic and progressive ideas into the homes of India, and such places as Kenya Colony. This, however, can only be brought about with the assistance and backing of England, and not by self-government, which appears to mean alas! reverting back to religious feuds and the dictatorship of the Princes.

GERTUDE G. SCHOLPP.

#### MR. RAO REPLIES.

SIR,—In her courteous and sympathetic reply, Miss Gertrude Scholpp says that out of 26,000 Indians only 6,000 are fit to vote, while of the 12,000 Europeans "approximately 11,900 are fitted to hold the Vote"! Even with adult franchise, both for men and women, the total number of European voters, according to the *Kenya Official Gazettee*, (Special Issue) of the 12th February 1929, is only 4,089. If 11,900 Europeans are fit to vote, the franchise must be extended not only to little boys and girls, but also to infants in arms!! Say, all Europeans above the age of ten days! Even so, is Miss Scholpp quite sure that there are as many as a hundred Europeans who do not come up even to these qualifications?

Need I say more, except to thank Miss Scholpp?

P. KODANDA RAO.

#### BOOKS RECEIVED.

- SCRAPS OF PAPER. *India's Broken Treaties, Her Princes and the Problem.* By A. P. NICHOLSON. (Benn.) 1930. 26cm. 355p. 21/-
- DOCUMENTS ON INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, 1928. Ed. by JOHN W. WHEELER BENNETT. (Oxford University Press.) 1929. 25cm. 254p.
- HOUSING PROBLEMS IN AMERICA. (National Housing Association, New York.) 1929. 24cm., 355p. \$3.00.
- LORD DURHAM. By CHESTER W. NEW. (Oxford University Press.) 1929. 23cm. 612p. 25/-

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